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MATERIAL FOR
SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY

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MATERIAL FOR
SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN
THE CENTRAL ARCHIVES
OF MEXICO

By
HERBERT E. BOLTON
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MATERIAL FOR SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN THE CENTRAL ARCHIVES OF MEXICO¹

WHEN we consider the close historical relations between Mexico and what we call the "Southwest", the chief cause for surprise, as regards the Mexican archives, is not that they contain much material for Southwestern history, but rather that this material has been so little used.

In an endeavor to present in brief space a general idea of the sources of this class contained in the central archives at the City of Mexico, not touching for the present upon provincial, ecclesiastical or private collections, it seems best to attempt no more than to name the principal repositories and to describe their contents in so far as they will admit of general description. I can treat even in this general way only a part of the field, and have chosen, therefore, disregarding the demands of proportion, to devote most of my space to sources for early Southwestern history, closing with the merest hint of what there may be for recent periods. Incidentally I shall try to indicate some of the conditions of investigation in Mexico.

The central government archives proper consist of an Archivo General y Público de la Nación, commonly called the Archivo General, and of separate archives for each of the great secretariats or executive departments of the national government. To these should be added the manuscript collections in the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional. Most of the manuscripts in the

¹ This paper may be regarded as a preliminary report upon a comprehensive survey of the materials for United States history in Mexican archives which the writer has undertaken on behalf of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. A fuller report in the form of a volume published by that institution may be expected at a later time.

My grateful acknowledgments for extensive courtesies and liberal treatment received during the preparation of this article are due to the following persons: The Hon. Señor Don Ignacio Mariscal, secretary, and the Hon. Señor Don José Algara, sub-secretary, of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations; Dr. Justino Rubio, director, and Señor Don Tomás Alarcón, paleographer, of the Archivo General y Público; Señor Lic. Don Genaro García, sub-director of the Museo Nacional; Dr. José M. Vigil, director of the Biblioteca Nacional; Señor Don Juan Salazar, in charge of the archive of the Secretariat of War and Marine; Señor Don Felipe Camarena, in charge of the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations; Señor Don Manuel C. Tolsa, in charge of the archive of the Secretariat of Fomento; and Señor Ing. Ignacio Molina, chief of the department of cartography of the last-named secretariat.

archives of the secretariats bear dates subsequent to the Mexican War of Independence, since which event these departments have been established; and, on the other hand, by far the larger part of those in the other collections named relate to the period of the Spanish régime. This clear differentiation of the archives reinforces the historical reasons for choosing the close of that régime, 1821, as the point of division between early and recent Southwestern history. I write mainly, therefore, of sources for the period before 1821.

It follows from what has already been said that the public collections at the capital of special importance for early history are those in the Archivo General, the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional. By far the most important of these is the first, which, indeed, is the largest and richest collection of historical material in Mexico. If space would permit, a sketch of the varied and sometimes pathetic history of this archive would be instructive. Since this is impossible, suffice it to say that the idea of founding it originated in 1790 with the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, and that it was established by the Republic in 1823, having for its basis the archive of the Secretariat of the Viceroys,² which still constitutes its most important single element. In this connection let it be noted that there is little ground, unless it be an unwarranted faith that in olden times all decrees of Spanish kings were executed, for Bancroft's remark that in the Archivo General are preserved great quantities of material "collected from all parts of the country by order of Carlos IV."³ Quite to the contrary, it appears after much study directed to this point, that, in spite of this and later orders to the same effect, provincial collections have not been drawn upon to any considerable extent in the formation of the Archivo General.

² A brief printed sketch of the Archivo General by Manuel Rivera Cármas is in *México Pintoresco, Artístico y Monumental* (Mexico, 1880), I. 16-17; one by Ignacio Rayón is in *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía* (Mexico, 1854), V. 978-983; a still briefer sketch by Professor George P. Garrison is in *The Nation*, May 30, 1901. None of these articles gives a satisfactory account of the origin and elements of the archive. Original correspondence relative to the first attempt to found it is contained in volume 267 of Sección de Historia, Archivo General. This volume is entitled "Archivo General, Su Establecimiento en Chapultepec, 1788-1819". For data on this subject see also the files of correspondence in the sections of the Archivo General named Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, and Correspondencia de los Virreyes. Valuable manuscript reports by different *archiveros* on the contents and condition of the archive of the Viceroy's Secretariat at the end of the Spanish régime and on the Archivo General y Público since its foundation in 1823, are contained in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, section Archivo General. Similar matter is contained in several memorials to the Mexican Congress by the different secretaries of the Department of Relations.

³ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 21.

This fact is significant, for it offers the prospect that in certain of the local archives there may yet be found important stores of material. While, as has been said, the larger part of the collection in the Archivo General relates to the period before 1821, only a small part of that which does not is of importance for the history of the United States.

This archive is under the supervision of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, and permission to work in it is secured, by foreigners, from that department. It is housed in the southwestern portion of the vast building known as the Palacio Nacional, in rooms adjacent to those formerly occupied by the Secretariat of the Viceroyalties—quarters that are altogether inadequate for present needs. In summer it is usually open from 7:30 a. m. to 1:30 p. m., and in winter from 8:00 a. m. to 1:30 p. m. To those who are properly introduced, wide liberties are given to search among the volumes and *legajos*. Indeed, if this were not the case, little progress could be made under present circumstances.

The collection, which consists of some thirty-five thousand bound volumes of manuscripts and bundles enough to form at least as many more, is, besides being large, extremely miscellaneous, and therefore difficult to describe in general terms. Enough material to form perhaps twenty thousand volumes is piled ceiling-high in a board crib in the middle of the main hall, and, though partly classified and bound, is at present almost inaccessible. Difficulties of research are increased through lack of a catalogue, either printed or unprinted.⁴

The archive is divided into sections, the basis of division being subjects rather than the offices from which the papers have emanated. The general arrangement of these sections is chronological, with dates on the backs or title-pages of the volumes or on the labels of the *legajos*. This arrangement greatly facilitates investigation but it is frequently violated, and the dates cannot always be relied upon. Many of the volumes—in some cases entire sections—have tables of contents, called *indices*. These, when well made, which is by no means always the case, enable one readily to ascertain the general nature of the contents of a volume.

Seven sections, in particular, of the Archivo General have great importance for the early history of the Southwest. The two most

⁴ Material for the formation of a catalogue is gradually being accumulated by the archive force, but the prospects for a speedy completion of it are not good, unless the force be materially increased. There are, it is true, some special *indices* for official use but they are too general to be of much service for historical investigation.

systematically arranged and at the same time the most generally useful are those containing the royal *cédulas* and orders to the viceroys and the communications of the viceroys to the court of Spain.⁵ These two sections, taken together, form the best single documentary guide to the history of a given province, as well as to the general administrative history of New Spain, for most matters of importance became the subjects of correspondence between the viceroys and the court. The compilation of these series in their present form was begun about 1773 by Peramás, the viceroy's secretary. During his long term the arranging of current documents was kept up, and when, after an interval, Antonio Bonilla became secretary, he went back and arranged apparently all of the materials of these and some other classes that he could find. The documents are filed in chronological order, and the volumes have, besides tables of contents, alphabetical *prontuarios* or brief subject-indexes, which, in general, are very well made.

Of the royal *cédulas* and orders there are two series. The first, of 243 bound volumes, contains the originals or principals of *cédulas* and orders directed to the viceroys. The second, of 176 volumes, is very miscellaneous and fragmentary but it contains, besides extraneous matter, (a) principals of *cédulas* and orders directed to the *audiencia* of Mexico, (b) duplicates of some of those sent to the viceroys and (c) *libros de asiento* or record-books, in which *cédulas* and orders of both classes are copied.

The first series, which is by far the more important from our present viewpoint, covers the period from 1609 to 1821, being fairly complete after 1643. These royal communications deal with every conceivable kind of subject. In the *prontuarios* the headings Californias, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana and Provincias Internas occupy a prominent place, and, taken together with such headings as explorations, colonization, missions, *presidios*, Indians, defense, foreigners and appointments, guide the way to much of the early history of the Southwest.

Besides the *cédulas* and orders that are filed in this regular series, a good many principals are to be found in other places, with papers to which they are directly related. Of duplicates, separate series have been formed for the history of the Provincias Internas for the period between 1750 and 1793, and for the history of the expulsion of the Jesuits. For these excellent and useful compila-

⁵ They are named respectively, Reales Cédulas y Órdenes, and Correspondencia de los Virreyes. These titles are obviously too broad, for besides these there are other royal *cédulas* and orders and other classes of viceroys' correspondence.

tions we have to thank that best of viceroy's secretaries, Antonio Bonilla, or, perhaps, his master with the organizing genius, the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo. The former compilation consists of five large volumes, until recently scattered and forgotten, among the volumes of the second series of royal *cédulas* and orders mentioned, but now reunited.⁶ In them the *índices* cite separately the documents relating to the Provincias Internas as a whole, and likewise those for each of the provinces of New Mexico, Texas, Nuevo Santander, Nuevo León, Nueva Viscaya, Coahuila, Sonora and Sinaloa.⁷ For the period covered, the five volumes are of inestimable value, and their tables of contents are deserving of publication entire, as a partial bibliography.⁸ The compilation of *cédulas* concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits is still scattered. Volumes I. and II. have recently been brought together from different parts of the Archivo General, while III. and IV. are in the Biblioteca Nacional.⁹

The regular file of communications from the viceroys to the court of Spain does not begin, unfortunately, until 1755, in the administration of the Marqués de las Amarillas.¹⁰ From that time to 1821 they fill 244 volumes. They are arranged in three series, which, by the way, have no discoverable distinction.¹¹ These letters and reports of the viceroys, found here in the form of minutes or of copies, according to the care of the secretaries, are even more important than the royal *cédulas* and orders, for they not only present the cisatlantic viewpoint, but, being based upon detailed

⁶ Besides containing this compilation relating to the Provincias Internas, the second series of *cédulas* supplements the first in two other ways. First, the *libros de asiento* contain documents as early as 1585, and second, in this collection there are *cédulas* and orders directed to the *audiencias*. The arrangement of the series is so very bad, however, that to use it would be difficult.

⁷ The title of the series is "Colección de Reales Órdenes y Cédulas Duplicadas sobre Provincias Ynternas".

⁸ In the *índices* reference is made in each case to the series of principals, and, even if a duplicate is lacking, the principal is cited.

⁹ The title of the first volume is "Colección de Reales Ordenes, y Cédulas Sobre Expatriación de los Regulares de la Comp^a. de Jesus, y demas Asuntos Relativas, Dirigidas al Exmo. S^{ro}. Virrey Marqués de Croix en los Años de 1767, 68, 69, y 70". The titles of the other volumes vary slightly from this. The series, or at least a part of it, will be listed in the forthcoming catalogue of books on jurisprudence issued by the Biblioteca.

¹⁰ The Secretariat of the Viceroys was, in its origin, only a private office. Its first official corps of three was organized in 1757. This explains, perhaps, why the file of viceroys' correspondence begins no earlier. See Juan de Dios Uribe, "Informe pedido por un apunte", etc., in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de Archivo General, *cava* 1823-1827.

¹¹ Each of the three series contains the three main classes of correspondence, namely, that sent *por via reservada*, through the secretary of the Universal Office of Marine and Indies; that sent through the Council of the Indies; and that addressed to the different department secretaries.

reports from provincial governors, missionaries and other local authorities, they are nearer than the royal *cédulas* to the spirit of provincial affairs. For certain periods it was customary to file with the minutes of correspondence the originals or copies of documents that were transmitted to Spain. Would that this had been a constant practice! Of special value on the Southwest are the monthly extracts from the local reports of affairs in the Californias and the Provincias Internas which were more or less regularly sent by the viceroy to the king during the period between 1770 and 1777.¹²

After the establishment in 1777 of the commandancy-general at Chihuahua, practically independent of the viceroy, the latter official's correspondence suddenly lessens in value for the Southwest. From that time forth we shall have to look to Spain or to the remains of the archive of the commandancy-general for some of the most important correspondence relative to the Provincias Internas.

As a companion to the compilation of duplicate royal *cédulas* and orders concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits, Bonilla formed a similar one of the letters of the viceroys to the court of Spain relative to the same subject. This series has strayed to the Biblioteca Nacional.¹³

Scarcely less valuable than the two series just described, but, because of their miscellaneous character, infinitely more difficult to treat satisfactorily in brief space, are the sections called Historia, Provincias Internas, Californias and Misiones. These together comprise about nine hundred volumes, of whose contents perhaps one-half relates to territory that is within the United States.

The nucleus of the history section is the thirty-two volume series of "*Memorias de Nueva España*", compiled in 1791-1792 by Fray Francisco García Figueroa, at the order of the king and under the direction of the viceroy.¹⁴ These volumes are composed

¹² A considerable portion of these *noticias* of Texas, Louisiana and New Mexico are copied in the Talamantes-Pichardo Papers contained in volumes 298 and 299 of Sección de Historia, Archivo General.

¹³ I cannot say that the three volumes preserved there form the complete series; indeed, apparently they do not, although they are numbered consecutively, one, two and three. The main title of the first is "*Libro 1º. de Cartas Escritas al Ex^{mo}. S^{or}. Conde de Aranda*". The titles of the others vary slightly from this.

¹⁴ For a brief statement of the circumstances of their compilation, see the article by Professor Garrison, cited above, page 511, note 2. For a fuller statement, see a report dated July 27, 1853, by the noted Mexican scholar, Manuel Orosco y Berra, in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de México, *caxa* 1849-1853. The occasion of this report was the offer for sale in New York, by a Spanish editor, of what purported to be the original of volume I. of the "*Memorias*", together with what was called the original manuscript of Morfi's history of Texas. Since volume I. of the "*Memorias*" was

of copies of documents of great general importance—the *monumenta*, so to speak—for the history of New Spain down to the time of their compilation. Since they are relatively well-known, they need no mention here further than to say that of their number four are devoted to New Mexico, two to Upper California, two to Texas and as many more to territory just on the other side of the border and closely associated with the United States frontier. To this nucleus there have been added from time to time about five hundred volumes, mainly of original documents, dealing with various parts of New Spain.¹⁵ The section of Provincias Internas, comprising 264 volumes, is so called because it relates primarily to the northern provinces. A considerable part of the papers contained in it emanated from the division of the Viceroy's Secretariat devoted especially to the administration of these provinces. Technically, the Provincias Internas did not include the Californias, Louisiana or Florida, but there is in the section a good deal of matter relative to the first two. It contains also, for obvious reasons, a great deal of material concerning San Blas and the Philippine Islands. Probably the most distinctive class of material in this section is the correspondence of the viceroy with the commandant-general of the Provincias Internas (or, when the commandancy was divided, with the commandants of the eastern and the western provinces) and with the provincial governors. Such material, however, is not lacking from the other series. The section of Californias contains nearly all kinds of matter for Antigua and Nueva California, some of it dating nearly to the time of the American occupation, besides considerable matter for New Mexico and Texas. The section of Misiones is confined largely to the relations of missions with the central secular authorities, but it covers all New Spain.

For present purposes these four sections may be considered together, for, aside from such differences of emphasis as have been indicated, their contents are similar and overlap in a thousand places. It is in these sections especially that one must look for a large part of the important correspondence of the viceroys with the local then lacking from the set in the Archivo General, the government contemplated purchasing the one advertised, believing that it was the identical volume that had been lost. The missing volume was replaced in 1882 by a copy made in Spain. (See correspondence in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de Archivo General, under the dates given.) Its loss cannot be charged, in the customary way, to the vandalism of the American army that occupied the city in 1847, for Cubas's report of 1824 notes the absence of the volume. This is not intended, however, as a denial that the American army carried off some documents from the Mexican archives, for there is good evidence that they did so.

¹⁵ There are at present date, December 5, 1907, 530 volumes in the section.

authorities. But, instead of being made up of chronological or otherwise systematic files of correspondence between certain offices, the volumes are, for the most part, collections of *expedientes*, an *expediente* being a group of papers relating to a single subject. In these *expedientes* records of local procedure and correspondence are brought together and joined to the records of related procedure in Mexico or even in Spain. The result is that a single *expediente* may contain all of the documents necessary for tracing the history of a given matter from beginning to end. Such correspondence as could not be fitted into *expedientes* is scattered through the series in a very miscellaneous way, with here and there well unified groups.

Contained in these *expedientes* or existing separately, as the case may be, there are found several general classes of material for the history of the provinces that constituted what is now the Southwest. Some of the most important are the following: (1) diaries of exploring expeditions or other *entradas* into the north country; (2) *autos* of the founding of missions and other settlements; (3) correspondence of the viceroys with the governors, missionaries and other local authorities; (4) correspondence of the viceroys with the commandant-general or, when the jurisdiction of this official was divided, with the commandants of the eastern and western Internal Provinces; (5) *autos* of the *residencias* of governors and of other special investigations into local administration. Besides these and perhaps other classes, there are countless *expedientes* concerning special subjects. These kinds of material are found, in general, for all of the northern provinces except Florida and Louisiana, to the end of the Spanish régime, though it would be impossible, perhaps, to find a complete file of any one class of material for any single province.

In the four sections under consideration are the originals, which will never lose their value, of a large part of the documents copied in the "Memorias de Nueva España", as well of course as of thousands of others. This is not true to any great extent in cases where the documents were copied from the provincial or ecclesiastical archives, for, as has already been said, these collections have not to any considerable degree found their way into the Archivo General.¹⁶ In view of the gigantic work of collecting done by H. H. Bancroft and of the impression abroad that he may have got all there is to be had, it is in point to remark here that it

¹⁶ Notable exceptions to the last assertion are the 1,200 or 1,300 volumes of papers from the Inquisition archives, and the Jesuit records contained in the Misiones section.

appears that he copied little or nothing in the Archivo General, and that therefore he used few or none of the originals which I mention. This is said, not with any thought of disparagement of the great feat of collecting accomplished by Bancroft, but, quite to the contrary, to choose the most pointed way of illustrating the value of the yet unconquered worlds of material in this storehouse.

A large portion of the correspondence of the viceroys with the military chiefs during the Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821) is filed in the extensive section¹⁷ called *Historia: Operaciones de Guerra*, which is the seventh of the sections which have been mentioned as being of primary importance from our present standpoint. In it there are three groups of correspondence that deserve especial mention, even in so general a sketch as this. (1) That of the viceroy with Manuel de Salcedo, governor of Texas, from 1809 to 1813, is highly valuable for the affairs of the Texas-Louisiana frontier, including the first stage of the Gutierrez-Magee expedition.¹⁸ (2) For both the early and the later stages of this episode, as well as for the Mina expedition and other notable doings of the period from 1811 to 1821, there is much of value in the correspondence of Arredondo, commandant of the eastern Internal Provinces.¹⁹ Among the papers in this correspondence is the original report of the bloody battle of the Medina, of August 18, 1813. (3) In the same section is a four-volume series called "*Notas Diplomáticas*", which contains, primarily, diplomatic and consular correspondence concerning the United States for the period between 1809 and 1821. Some of the subjects of interest in it are the later doings of Bernardo de Gutierrez and Toledo, the Mina expedition, Lallemand, Aury, and James Long.²⁰ In volume IV. of this series the chief subjects of correspondence are a rumored plan

¹⁷ It contains 750 or 800 volumes. Technically, it is a part of *Sección de Historia*, but it is not so treated in practice and may be considered as a separate section.

¹⁸ An excellent calendar of these papers, prepared by Mr. E. W. Winkler, is contained in the *Thirty-First Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History of the State of Texas, part II., 1906. They were used by Dr. W. F. McCaleb in the preparation of his article on the "First Period of the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition", which appeared in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, IV. 218-230. Dr. McCaleb evidently missed the Arredondo correspondence in the same section, mentioned below.

¹⁹ Volume I. (*Operaciones de Guerra*, 56) contains correspondence for 1811-1816; II. (*O. de G.*, 57) for 1811-1820, but mainly for 1811-1812; III. (*O. de G.*, 58) for 1812-1813; IV. (*O. de G.*, 59) for 1813-1820.

²⁰ I may mention here, somewhat out of order, the bundle of documents in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations which deal with the capture and imprisonment of Long and his men. They are in *Sección de Asuntos Internacionales, caja 1817-1824*. The bundle contains a number of papers taken from Long after his capture.

of Americans to invade New Mexico in 1818-1819, and corresponding plans of the Spanish government to defend that province. Taken together these three groups of documents contain much of value for the restless period of southwestward migration and of filibustering projects directed toward the Southwest between 1810 and 1821. But it must not be inferred that, because other documents on this period have not been specifically mentioned, there are no others. As a matter of fact, a great many are contained in the volumes which I have been able to describe in general terms.

The large section of Tierras probably contains a great deal of matter relative to land grants within the southwestern part of the United States, as well as sources of a wider historical bearing, but the restrictions placed upon its use are such as to have made it thus far impossible for me to consult it. Were its contents known to historical investigators, it is not improbable that this section would take rank in importance with those described above.

Besides these seven (or eight) sections of first importance, there is a larger number that contain either (a) a smaller amount or only occasional matter of direct bearing on the Southwest or (b) data for studying the Spanish provincial administrative system in general.

Of the first class are to be noted the sections or series of Marina, Oficio de Soria, Obras Públicas, Inquisición, Impresos Oficiales, Bandos, Ordenanzas, Real Caxa and Yndiferente de Guerra. Sección de Marina, which comprises two hundred or three hundred volumes, contains, primarily, reports of marine and port officials, including sometimes consuls in foreign countries, especially those in New Orleans, to the viceroys, and after the revolution to the Department of Marine. In them matters of commerce occupy first place. Concerning this subject there are reports of entry and clearance of vessels, ship-registers, port and fair regulations and much matter relative to the conduct of the Philippine trade. Filed with such documents concerning legitimate commerce, there are many reports of contraband or otherwise illegal trade in Mexican ports. In both the legitimate and the illegal trade American vessels figure prominently at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The volumes of this section which are marked San Blas contain much matter relative to the movement of vessels up and down the Pacific coast. Mixed with these commercial affairs are a good many documents of political and military bearing, several of them touching the eighteenth-century history of Florida. One volume of the series called Oficio de Soria also contains

several reports, like those mentioned above, concerning illegal trade by American vessels (1809-1811). In addition the series contains a few papers that relate to the eighteenth-century history of New Mexico and Texas. The sections of *Impresos Oficiales*, *Ordenanzas*, and *Bandos*, supplement other files by containing many *cédulas*, viceroys' decrees, ordinances and other documents that were of such general bearing as to be given a circular character. In *Obras Públicas* there are occasional *expedientes* of interest to us concerning the construction of public works. For example, in the first volume there is one relative to the erection of the *presidio* and other public buildings at San Francisco in 1778. The 1,200 or 1,300 volumes of papers from the archives of the Inquisition contain a little matter of specific bearing on the Southwest. Probably most of it, except what may relate to California, is listed in the report prepared in 1807 for the Louisiana Boundary Commission by Torrecilla and DeNáxera, secretaries of the Holy Office. This report is in volume 301 of the history section. In the volumes of *Real Caxa* devoted to the jurisdiction of Chihuahua are to be found documents dealing with the finances of the provinces comprised in *Provincias Internas*.²¹

Some thirty-five sections, or series not technically called sections, forming a large part of the bulk of the archive, while of great value for the history of the interior of Mexico, are of interest from our present viewpoint mainly as illustrating the Spanish provincial administration in general. The names of most of them are given in a foot-note.²² I have not been able to examine every one of these sections volume by volume, and it may be that they contain occasional documents of direct bearing on the United States, but the aggregate amount of such is evidently not large. It must be remembered that the value for the Southwest of documents of such

²¹ It would seem that the sections of *Intendencias*, *Sublegados*, *Ayuntamientos* and *Alcaldes Mayores*, which are composed of the correspondence of the viceroys with or about these administrative agencies, should contain matter of direct bearing on the Southwest, but so far as I have been able to examine them—the volumes are in a large measure inaccessible at present—I have found nothing of this character.

²² The series entitled: *Indios*, *Encomiendas*, *Clero Regular*, *Clero Secular*, *Bienes de Comunidad*, *Temporalidades*, *Templos y Conventos*, *Cofradías y Archicofradías*, *Matrimonios*, *Registro de Fianzas*, *Real Fisco*, *Salinas*, *Minería*, *Informes de Fonseca y Urrutia*, *Real Audiencia*, *Real Acuerdo*, *Civil*, *Intestados* and *Infidencias*, are accessible. The following, which are of similar value, and perhaps others, are in the crib mentioned formerly and are only partly accessible at present: *Judicial*, *Tribunal de la Acordada*, *Arzobispo y Obispos*, *Media Annata*, *Bula de Santa Cruzada*, *Real Armada*, *Artillería*, *Presidarios*, *Comisaría General*, *Casa de Moneda*, *Tesorerías*, *Hacienda*, *Tribunal del Consulado*, *Aduanas*, *Alcabalas*, *Peages*, *Renta de Tabaco* and *Fabrica de Pólvera*.

a character is greatly lessened by the fact that the Spanish administrative system reached the distant and sparsely settled provinces of the north only in a much modified and greatly attenuated form.

Turning now from the Archivo General, the manuscripts in the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional may be designated as special collections, unrelated and fragmentary, that have been acquired as odds and ends in various ways.

The chief materials in the Museo for the history of the Southwest, or, indeed, for any part of the United States, are Franciscan mission papers, of which many are of great value. They are contained primarily in three groups, known as the Lancaster-Jones Collection, the Fischer Collection and the Franciscan Convent Papers. Notable in the first are the four quarto volumes of Franciscan correspondence called "*Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias*". Their contents are mainly original correspondence of missionaries in the field and of various colleges and convents with the central Franciscan authorities. The documents deal largely with Upper California between 1769 and 1800, but touch also New Mexico and Texas. They clearly came from the central Franciscan archives, by what route I cannot say. In the same collection there are two octavo volumes of mission correspondence which have the same title as the quarto series, and whose contents are, to some extent, copies of documents found in the original in that series. In the Fischer Collection there is a volume compiled by Fray Rafael Verger under the title "*Colección y Trasunto de Varios Escritos, Alegatos, Ynformes, Memoriales, y Cartas*". It is a rare set of California mission documents for that most interesting period of beginnings, 1771-1774. The Franciscan Convent Papers contain, besides a large number of administration-books of relatively small value, enough loose papers, mainly correspondence, to form a hundred or more large volumes; but they are so disordered that it would take an expert several months to arrange and describe them properly. They come mainly from the archive of the Franciscan commissary-general of New Spain and from the colleges of San Fernando, San Gregorio and Santo Evangelio. They are much more valuable for the history of missions in Mexico and the Philippines than for those in the United States, but they contain, nevertheless, besides much matter of a general bearing on Franciscan polity, a good deal of specific bearing on the missions of California, New Mexico and Texas.

The recent preparation of a detailed bibliography of materials

in the central public archives of Mexico for the history of Alta California between 1768 and 1785 has demonstrated that these collections in the Museo Nacional, together with some of the sections of the Archivo General, contain an enormous amount of unused material of highest importance for early California history.

Besides these Franciscan documents, the Ramírez Papers deserve mention. These papers, most of which recently came from the library of the late Alfredo Chavero, are documents gathered and autograph essays written by the noted José Fernando Remírez. They deal mainly with ancient Mexico, where his interests were centred, but some of them relate to the United States. Among these is a collection of original "Documentos sobre Gaspar de Villagrà", author of the metrical history of New Mexico, part of them signed in the hand of Oñate; copies of various more or less well-known New Mexico documents; a fragment of a Jesuit *crítica* of the Benavides account of the apparition of the venerable María Jesus de Ágreda; and a forty-three page study of the Comanche nation by Ramírez himself.²³

All of these Museo papers are kept in the library, which is open to the public from 9:30 to 12:30 in the morning and from 3:30 to 6:30 in the afternoon.

The manuscript materials in the Biblioteca Nacional are not many in the aggregate, yet there are a few nuggets about which investigators of special topics would wish to know. Some of these are fragments of series contained in the Archivo General y Público. I have already mentioned part of one and all of another Bonilla compilation relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits. A larger collection is that of about forty bound volumes of documents accumulated as an incident to the administration of *real hacienda* during the eighteenth century. They consist of royal *cédulas*, viceroys' decrees, official reports and *expedientes* concerning the various branches of the royal revenue. In them is to be found a large amount of information concerning the Spanish economic and administrative systems. Many rare pamphlets and some manuscripts are gathered into the various series of "Documentos para la Historia de México" listed in the history division of the library's catalogue. Single manuscript volumes or documents deserving of

²³ Of more interest than importance in this connection are the sixty-odd volumes of original records from the archive of the Inquisition. These are said by Señor Don Luiz González Obregón, who has made a thorough study of them, to be the cream of a much larger collection to which the 1,200 or 1,300 volumes in the Archivo General y Público belong. They seem, however, to contain nothing relating specifically to the United States.

mention are: (1) a copy of Mange's "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", containing at the end Kino's "Relacion Diaria" of his *entrada* into Pimeria in 1698 (dated at N. S. de Dolores, December 8, 1698); (2) a copy of Nicolas de la Fora's "Relacion" of his expedition to New Mexico in 1766 in company with the Marqués de Rubí for the purpose of inspecting the northern establishments—an expedition that led to a complete revision of the northern military and missionary frontier; (3) still another Bonilla compilation contained in the Biblioteca is the volume called "Reconocimiento De los quatro establecimientos que el Ymperio Ruso ha formado al Norte de la California". It contains many of the important original documents concerning the Martínez exploration of 1788, including diaries and maps.

Besides the manuscripts listed in the history division of the library's catalogue, others will appear in the forthcoming division of jurisprudence. With few exceptions the manuscripts are kept in the office of the director, and may be examined only with his permission. His office is usually open from 12 m. to 2 p. m. and from 4 to 8 p. m.

As has already been stated, the archives of the active secretariats contain, primarily, materials that bear dates subsequent to the revolution. Nevertheless, occasional groups of earlier documents are to be found in them. I have already referred, in a note,²⁴ to the papers in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations relative to the imprisonment of General James Long. Two other groups in the same archive may be mentioned. One of these consists of part of the papers taken by the Spanish authorities from Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike. The correspondence that accompanies them shows that these papers lay in Chihuahua for twenty years after Pike was relieved of them there in 1807, and that they were then hunted up and sent to the City of Mexico for the use of the Texas-Louisiana Boundary Commission. The list made when they were confiscated shows twenty-one numbered documents. The first eighteen and the last of these are now preserved in the archive named, to which the whole collection was returned by the Boundary Commission in 1828. It is to be deplored that the two missing documents are, perhaps, those of greatest interest—Pike's principal diary and a book containing personal observations and memoranda of his correspondence.²⁵ The other group to which I alluded con-

²⁴ See page 518, note 20.

²⁵ These papers are in *caxa* 1817-1824, Sección de Asuntos Internacionales, in a *carpeta* labelled "Sobre busca y entrega á la Comision de limites de los docu-

sists of a part of the Pichardo Papers. In 1807 Father José Pichardo was appointed by the viceroy to succeed Talamantes, who before his untimely death had worked two years as commissioner to report, through historical investigation, on the true Texas-Louisiana boundary. After five years of additional labor, Pichardo submitted to the viceroy, in February, 1812, a ponderous study of nearly all phases of the history of Texas and of many phases of that of New Mexico and Louisiana. This work has frequently been referred to in Mexican manuscript records and has for some time been sought, by myself, at least, but I doubt if it has been used since Terán returned it in 1828. The report, which is of true Spanish length, filling more than four thousand quarto pages,²⁶ is in the same section as the Pike Papers, together with part of Pichardo's documents. Many other Talamantes-Pichardo documents are in the Archivo General y Público.²⁷ Over a year ago I found in the cartography department of the Secretariat of Fomento the original map made by Pichardo in 1811 to accompany his report, together with the rare original of the La Fora map, made about 1767.²⁸

One of the puzzles that I have not been able to solve is the whereabouts of the many other old maps of different parts of the Southwest that are mentioned in the sources and whose accompanying documents are available. Of course, the originals or copies of many of them were sent to Spain, but it is inconceivable that copies, at least, should not have been kept in Mexico. In fact, in a good many instances we have proof that copies or the originals were kept but where the larger part of them now are is a mystery. A considerable number, it is true, are here and there in the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional. A much larger number are in *carpetas* 2, 3, 11 and 12 of the department of cartography of the Secretariat of Fomento, among them being the Pichardo and La Fora maps already mentioned. But these four boxes contain only the merest fraction of what should be in existence.

mentos q. se tomaron al viagero Paike". Such of them as are historically important and have not been printed heretofore will be published in the next number of this journal.

²⁶ The copy of the report and the accompanying documents which in 1842 were in the hydrographic department of the Secretaría de Gobierno of Spain, filled fifteen volumes. See correspondence of the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations with the Minister to Spain, in the same archive, Sección de México, *cara* 1842-1844.

²⁷ See Bolton, in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, VII. 210-212.

²⁸ My attention was first called to the collection of old maps in this department by Mr. William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans.

Having spent on the early period nearly all of the space allotted to me and not having completed my investigations, I can only suggest here what there is for later times, a period of greater interest to most of us, perhaps, than the other. Some groups of papers of recent date bearing on the Southwest are contained in the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional, but they cannot be mentioned in the brief résumé which follows.²⁹ In my work I have not proceeded very far with the examination of the department archives, which, as I said, contain most of the records accumulated since 1821; but even now I can pronounce three of them rich in materials for the history of the relations between the United States and Mexico since that date. These three are the secretariats of Foreign Relations, War, and Fomento, or Public Improvements.

The names of these departments indicate their special functions and the general classes of materials which we might expect to find in their archives. In general, the materials of these archives are contained in *legajos* or boxes, which are classified into sections on the basis of subjects treated. So far as I have examined, the most important section of the archive of the Secretariat of War is that of Military Operations. This contains, primarily, correspondence of the Secretary of War with the officers in the field and with other departments of government directly concerned in active operations, principally those of Hacienda and Foreign Relations. In the Secretariat of Foreign Relations there is extensive diplomatic and consular correspondence concerning nearly all exterior political relations; while, so far as I am able to report at present, the most important materials in the Secretariat of Fomento are the ~~old maps and other~~ documents, including old maps, concerning the Anglo-American colonization of the Southwest and industrial concessions to Americans in more recent times. Since two or all of these departments, in many cases, contain documents relating to the same subject, I shall not treat separately each archive, but shall only mention some of the principal topics for which they collectively contain material.

Concerning Anglo-American colonization before the Mexican War there are in the secretariats of Fomento and Foreign Relations hundreds of applications for lands in Texas and other parts of the Southwest; schemes proposed by Mexicans and foreigners to offset Anglo-American aggrandizement by planting in the Southwest

²⁹ It may be noted that all of the records of the general archive of the Secretariat of Justice down to 1886 have recently been sent to the Archivo General.

colonies of Europeans; maps of lands asked for; and records of concessions granted or refused. The mass of documents concerning Anglo-American colonization in Texas alone after 1821, would probably fill fifteen or twenty large volumes. Of greatest single interest among them, perhaps, are the many papers relating to the efforts of Moses and Stephen F. Austin, although the material seems to be relatively full for other leading *empresarios*. One of the colonization projects of considerable antiquarian interest, at least, is that proposed to the Mexican government in 1826 by Robert Owen. His memorial, present in his own handwriting, asks for a concession of all Texas, with guaranteed independence and protection, as a place in which to test on a large scale his favorite plan, which he outlines, of regenerating humanity.

Parallel with the plans for Anglo-American colonies are the fears of Anglo-American aggression, then of revolution in Texas. Giving expression to these fears there are in the secretariats of Foreign Relations and War bewildering quantities of correspondence with local authorities and diplomatic agents. In this connection may be noted the bundle of papers in the Secretariat of War which give the details of the arrest and imprisonment of Stephen F. Austin. For California and New Mexico there are many documents, dated between 1830 and 1840, concerning political disturbances caused, according to the reports, by Americans and factious Spaniards, as well as reports regarding the movements of the Russians. The Oregon migration also calls for the use of much ink and paper.

What appear to be very complete files of correspondence between the Secretary of War and the frontier military authorities from 1830 to 1845 fill about thirty-five *legajos* of some 1,200 pages each. In them are the original reports, not only of the general movements of Americans and Mexicans during this momentous period, but also Mexican reports of the principal military engagements of the Texas War. Notable among the latter, of course, are those of the recapture of San Antonio by the Mexicans, the fall of the Alamo and the defeat of Santa Anna at San Jacinto. I had the unique experience of breaking the seals, in the presence and with the permission of the *archivero*, of packages containing some fifteen personal letters and official orders addressed to Santa Anna about the time of his capture but never delivered because of that event. It is interesting to note, as a reflection of the Mexican view of events, that from 1830 on to 1835 the Texas bundles are marked "The Revolution in Texas", as though the revolution were

already a fact at the earlier date, while those from 1835 to 1845 are marked "The Texas Campaign", as though the war had continued for a decade, instead of ending at San Jacinto, the usual American view. The views expressed by the labels seem to prevail in the documents.

The secretariats of War and Foreign Relations combined, contain voluminous reports of the raids and counter-raids across the borders between the time of the Texas Revolution and that of the Mexican War. For the Texas-Santa Fé expedition, for example, there are not only rumors and reports of the approaching expedition and accounts of the capture and imprisonment of the Americans, but also many papers taken from the captives, as well as autograph letters subsequently written by them to the United States minister to Mexico, in which they quite uniformly explain their misunderstanding of the enterprise. For the only less famous Mier expedition there is the same wealth of material, touching, it would seem, every important phase, not excepting the romantic break for liberty and the tragic decimation of the unfortunates. Concerning the Mexican War of 1846-1848 there are some fifty large *legajos* in the one section named of the archives of the Secretariat of War and perhaps nearly as much material in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations.

In the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations there are extensive files of correspondence relative to the connection of the United States government with all phases of Southwestern affairs after 1821; files of treaties and records of their negotiation; reports of the various boundary commissions; diplomatic correspondence with the Confederacy; and endless records of claims that grew out of Southwestern border troubles extending over the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

The above brief summary of the results of an incompleted task will give, I hope, some idea of the extent and importance of the materials of the kind in question contained in the central public archives of Mexico. To those who are conversant with the bibliography of Southwestern history it is needless to say that the sources described, particularly those for the nineteenth century, have been all but unused. Indeed, I should shrink from presenting a view of these later materials so very general that it contains little but the obvious, were it not for the fact that students seem to have ignored the obvious regarding these recent materials in the Mexican archives.

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